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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

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Communism Sidetracked

Workers' Control in Industry.

WHO OUGHT TO CONTROL INDUSTRY? To enable its members to decide this and other questions the Coal and Shale Employees' Federation has published and is distributing a pamphlet by G. D. H. Cole entitled, "Workers' Control in Industry." A careful reading of this pamphlet drives one to the conclusion that its circulation amongst the miners of this country—or any other—is nothing short of a blunder on the part of those who seek to show the workers the road to emancipation. Instead of this, Cole's work only further beclouds the issue, and, in essence, amounts to the **sidetracking of Communism**. Scarcely more than a confused mass of words and ideas dressed in "common-sense" form, this essay in no way helps the reader to see the underlying cause of the present position of the working-class, and therefore leads on the conclusion that Socialism can be reached by a slow and tranquil progression, the first step being the participation by the workers in the control of industry.

Before it is possible to decide upon the path from Capitalism to Socialism, it is absolutely necessary to have thoroughly analysed the former, and to have arrived at the central fact that distinguishes it from the preceeding social systems, and to agree upon the fundamental basis upon which Communism will be reared. How does Mr. Cole go about this task?

Very methodical is our Guild Socialist. He discusses everything; why men work, the claims of the capitalist, the manager, expert and the consumer to a share in the control of industry, and, after a discussion of unionism, states on page 16 that:

> **"If the workers want to destroy capitalism, and are ready to take its place and to assume its power, there is absolutely nothing to stop them doing so. Not all the force at the disposal of the Government and big business interests behind it, could impede the workers if once they knew what they wanted. For merely by withholding their co-operation in industry, even by measures far less drastic than the general strike, the workers could get all they chose to ask for IF THEY REALLY WANTED IT ENOUGH."**

Pure bunkum, all of it. Equally nonsensical with the capitalist plea that we can get all we want through the ballot box, given us by our fair and democratic forebears. And this is the stuff that is recommended to the miners to read, to study, perhaps to be made a basis of action. If the workers did know what they wanted they certainly would be able to realise their desires, but the fact seems to have escaped Cole's attention that the position of the workers under the present system itself prevents their completely understanding exactly what they want in the matter of a better state of society, and that above all, they do not want a better state of society at all. They want their present difficulties straightened out, and express satisfaction with any move, no matter from what quarter, that tries to solve the problem of the hour. This is not a mere assumption, but is proven by the indifference of the workers in general to the principles of revolution, and their acceptance of Labor Party politics and stomach-straining strikes for immediate demands as the high water mark of working-class activity. But each problem met, each stile that is climbed over brings them that much nearer to the greater problem whose only solution is in revolutionary action by the workers in their own interests. The difficulties will have assumed such collosal proportions that the immediate demand for overcoming them will quickly be translated into action. Nevertheless, we must not delude ourselves that because, in the future, the immediate demands of the workers will have to be supplied by the workers themselves, that it is possible to obviate the revolutionary activity by building up out of present-day immediate demands a grand flight of stairs, the top of which is Socialism. For, once arrived at the top, we find alas, that actually we are only at the bottom of another long stair-way, and that the final goal is still surrounded by clouds, and that, relatively, we are just as far from it as in the beginning.

What Can The Slave Do?

"Merely by withholding their co-operation in industry . . . the workers could get all they chose to ask for." This is Cole's idea of "What Labour Could Do?" For more than twelve months the Broken Hill miners have "withheld their co-operation" and it has not yet been stated that they have been granted what they asked for. The recent Seamen's strike was another example of co-operation "withheld from industry," that did not get the goods for the men. Admittedly, the spirit of strike is better than Arbitration Court servility; admittedly it is a manifestation of the class struggle that could, under more developed conditions, be turned to account in the political fight of the working-class. All this and more can be readily granted, but before we can decide whether the strike and the "withholding of co-operation" from industry is a good and wise tactic for the working-class as a general thing, we must understand just what the working-class is and why it works in industry at all.

It is obvious that we only work to-day because it is necessary to have money to buy the necessaries of food, clothing, and shelter. Because we have no property to exchange for money we are compelled to work for those who can give money in return for a certain amount of our power to work. Thus there quite naturally takes place the division of the people into those who have property which guarantees to them their existence, and those who have nothing upon which to live, and must therefore work for the others in order to live. The section that buys the labour-power of the propertyless people wants to do so at the lowest possible price, while these latter, being sellers want to get the best price. This is the class struggle as it exists to-day. And if we realise that the worker has only one way by which he can get money to purchase the necessaries of life, we must also realise that for him to "withhold his co-operation" in industry is to consciously deny himself and his family those things that no human being can do without. Unless other workers who are "co-operating" help them, they must be starved into again co-operating with the boss in industry. This may not be an attractive statement of the strike proposition, but it is nevertheless the actual situation that must be faced whenever the workers undertake to withhold their labour-power in sectional strikes. The general strike, it will be suggested, will be the order of the day, not the small, easily crushed, sectional strike. But the general strike to enforce demands in industry finds that opposition comes from other quarters than from the employers concerned, as in the case of the recent general strikes at Seattle, U.S.A., and Winnipeg, Canada, where the political forces of the State forced the workers back to work. In the case of Seattle, Mayor Ole Hanson had machine-gun detachments brought from Camp Lewis, some thirty-four miles away, and despite the efficient organisation of the city by the strikers, master-class machine guns won the day. The general strike must be spread throughout the whole country and this could only occur under great economic stress, when the demand for a share in the control of industry would be forgotten in the revolutionary action of the seizure of the administrative and other functions of the master-class state.

The title of Cole's essay is also very interesting in that it signifies a discussion of the rights, etc., of the workers to a share in the control of industry as now constituted. For Cole, and apparently for the Coal and Shale Federation, it is not a question of the complete control and ownership by the working-class of all industry and productive activity, but of participating in the control along with others who also have a right to do so. In other words, Communism has been sidetracked, and reformism given the right-of-way, under the impression that, because the activity is for the most part confined to the sphere of industry, it is a definite attack and success against capitalism. Though bearing a closer relationship to the processes of production where the actual exploitation takes place, it is none the less reformism, because it works upon the principle that it is possible to get somewhere effectively and quickly than by waiting for, and striving on towards, the final dissolution of the capitalist system.

In presenting the "Case against Capitalism" (page 8) Cole states that: **"If we agree in denying that there is any right to private property in the means of production, there is no difficulty in taking them away from individuals and vesting them in the public."** Quite apart from the question of "rights," let it be said that there is every difficulty in taking the means of production away from those who at present have them in their possession. The capitalists will only give up the "rights" as individual owners to the State at a "fair" price, and our denying them their rights does not solve the problem at all, for it must be remembered that the capitalist mode of production dominates the whole of present-day society, and that the State is merely the administrative and peace-making organ of the capitalist class. Therefore, to expect that the capitalist class to declare the rights of the capitalist class to be invalid is something more than utopian, childish. Possibly this must be taken as an example of the imagination, "the clear and vivid imagination" that the workers lack.

There is much said on the subject of unionism and Cole says (page 12) that industrial unions should replace the present sectional unions, with which we must agree, but we cannot agree that "It will be plain that . . . the control of the workshop ought to be seized out of the hands of the employers and their nominees and transferred to the Trade Unions wherever possible." This is objected to, not because it would not be good, but because it is a ridiculous impossibility, another instance of Cole's "vivid imagination." It would certainly be interesting to know exactly where it is possible for the workers to do this, or under what future circumstances it could be done.

The entire outlook of the Guild Socialists, of whom G. D. H. Cole is a prominent representative, is entirely ill-balanced and illogically conceived. The present social system is taken, the evils observed and an attempt made to reconcile the various "rights" and interests in the hope of creating a true democracy. Their point of view is summed up in the following sentence taken from page five: **"We, as Socialists, are interested no. only in what must be, but in what ought to be."** To discover what OUGHT to be no doubt Cole falls back upon a vivid imagination. The attitude of the Marxist is to know what WAS, and what IS, and thereafter to construct a theoretical framework for what WILL BE strictly in accordance with what he has already observed. He is not at all interested in what **ought** to be, unless it is what MUST BE.

Concerning capitalism, Cole says the workers dislike it, "but we do hate it as its cruelty and immorality deserve." If hate could deliver the goods one wonders why the Germans with their "Hymn of Hate", by Hermann Lissauer did not lead them triumphant up the Thames to old St. Pauls there to give thanks to the Almighty?

Not a page of the pamphlet that is not decorated with some gems of gilded wisdom, and, not satisfied with the circulation of such intolerable confusion in England, it has been thought necessary to import it

Continued on page 4.

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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

RAY EVERITT . . . . **Managing Editor.**

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Threadbare V.C.'s.

[illegible]

By MARCIA.

[illegible] Representative [illegible] of Discharged [illegible] the King's [illegible] on Saturday [illegible]. They [illegible] the public their [illegible]

[illegible] V.C.'s thinking [illegible] employ- ment [illegible]

[illegible] the good things [illegible] these mendic- [illegible] with the V.C. [illegible] more than [illegible] the "pat- [illegible] the crux of the [illegible]

[illegible] V.C.?

Because [illegible] men are [illegible] expen- [illegible] win the Victoria Cross [illegible] consequently their [illegible] fitted for civil [illegible] thing when they [illegible]

[illegible] two points [illegible] knows that [illegible] nothing but [illegible] a master [illegible] the mini- mum [illegible] in Vic- toria Cross [illegible] members of the exploited class.

[illegible] workers are getting [illegible] and will and [illegible] assured them [illegible] to see what [illegible] out of the war [illegible]

[illegible] Department [illegible] 28.7.20 — [illegible] their fortunes. [illegible] average of £ [illegible] each to their fortunes [illegible] between the outbreak of the War and [illegible]

[illegible] average increase of £220,000 each to their fortunes.

[illegible] average of £220,000 each to their fortunes.

Is it any wonder that individuals like these babble about the [illegible] "Democracy"?

And the slaughtered, the wounded, the orphans, the [illegible] and blind among the work- ers, who, of course, [illegible] the war, counts for noth- ing against the [illegible] ruling class, and unless those who returned from the inferno of bloodshed are cap- able of producing still more profit, they are cast aside as useless and worthless [illegible] as best they may.

Under the circumstances, is it any wonder that we of the revolutionary movement impress upon the returned soldiers that their place is in our ranks fighting the battle of their class?

We urge them to study and come to a realisation of their class-position, and then they will see plainly the futility of expecting anything from those who have exploited them in the past and will cast their lot and energies into the only movement that counts, the movement that spells real free- dom and complete emancipation, the movement that is so swiftly hurrying along the road to Revolution.

THE Revolutionary Outlook

By MARCIA.

THE POLICE ORGANISE.

It is reported that the police are forming **an organisation, although it is not quite clear** on what lines, but **since for the** last few years **and especially** during recent times **there has been a** large number of them regularly round the A.S.P. meetings, we are not without hopes that there will be a good percentage of them class conscious.

We realise that policemen along with soldiers are mem- bers of our class, the proletarian class, and, like the rest of us, have to carry on existence with just a living wage; con- ditions that govern all things with [illegible] and are educating them, and the revolutionary movement must do all in its power to assist, for in the day of Revolution we want them on OUR side.

• • • •

WHAT IS A BONEHEAD?

A speaker from the A.S.P. platform has given us a new definition of a Bonehead — [illegible]

A Bonehead is an individual [illegible] so busy worrying about his boss's interests that [illegible] have brain fever if he had anywhere to put it.

• •

MISSION OR HOLIDAY?

A vote as a grant in aid of the mission of the Prince of Wales to Australia and New Zealand is fixed so as not to exceed £ [illegible]

The Capitalist Press may talk of a Mission, but we should rather regard it as a holiday [illegible] to be voted towards the expenses of the [illegible] the other thous- ands which have been squandered [illegible] same purpose [illegible] wonder the workers are [illegible] increase production [illegible] they have to carry [illegible] their backs [illegible] state of [illegible] N.S.W. Labor [illegible] some of the children from the [illegible] can be taken away at Christmas in order to [illegible] get some fresh air.

Just imagine [illegible] exist in Sunny Australia which [illegible] to obtain fresh air.

Mr. [illegible] Minister [illegible] to raise suffi- cient funds for this purpose [illegible] £20,000 is not too much to [illegible] expenses [illegible] visitor.

Our Labor [illegible] Ministers are [illegible] are they not? [illegible] the time has come for the workers to [illegible] and refuse to be hoodwinked any longer [illegible] without hesitation that Revolution [illegible] workers and the [illegible] robbed and ex- ploited [illegible]

• • • •

PRAISE AND THANKSGIVING

[illegible]

[illegible] answered [illegible]

[illegible] the Prince of Wales [illegible]

[illegible] Aust- [illegible]

[illegible] to ask God [illegible]

[illegible] times of [illegible] with him.

• •

TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS

[illegible] that the propaganda of Scientific Socialism [illegible] worker you should [illegible] example to the workers with whom you come [illegible] by taking a definite stand behind the [illegible] revolutionary movement as a member of the A.S.P.

If there is no branch [illegible] your locality you can be- come a MEMBER AT LARGE, and thus become A REAL LIVE WIRE. Why not make yourself a dis- tributor of [illegible] literature?

Full information from the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn St., Sydney.

Germany

The Communists during the Revolution.

According to "l'Humanite" **of April 11th, Daeumig,** the leader of the **Independents, stated at a meeting** of the Berlin **Revolutionary Workers' Councils,** on March 26th:—"**The Independent Party is ready** to participate in a **Socialist Coalition Government on** cer- tain conditions. **By doing this it is in no way** aban- doning its final object—**the realisation of Socialism** on a Marxist basis **by the dictatorship of the proletariat.** But that dictatorship **is impossible at the present** time; we must not build up illusions on that point." At the same meeting, Paul Levi, chairman of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party, said: "The military reaction, which has once again become active, *might* have been crushed if the Ebert-Bauer Government had called the proletariat to arms instead of to a general strike. The bourgeois Majority Social- ist Government was prevented from doing this by its fear of the workers. The Communist Party considers the negotiations with Ebert and the **Prussian** Govern- ment as *very important* and **absolutely necessary.** All means must be used which will increase the power of the proletariat. Even if by this means we do not at- tain all our objects at one blow, still the bourgeoisie will be prevented from regaining its power, and the revolution will have a breathing space. It is absolute- ly unjust to complain of the slow development of the German revolution. It is not a sign of feebleness: on the contrary, it shows that the German proletariat has recognised the seriousness of the revolution, the slow- ness of which is due to its most fundamental charac- teristics. The revolution is accomplished not by one blow, but by stages. Every stage constituting a rein- forcement of the power of the proletariat must be util- ised. At the present moment, however, there is no possibility of establishing a Soviet Republic." Pieck, the leader of the Berlin Communists, said: "We Com- munists demand the dictatorship of the proletariat, but we know that we yet have to reckon with the re- sistance of the great majority of the proletariat. Is the Soviet Republic possible? Every Communist is [illegible] to answer 'No, Germany and the Western [illegible] are not yet ready for it.'"

Several Independent papers, commenting on these speeches, asked **why did separate parties exist, if at critical moments their views were so little divergent?**

What the Independents Say.

[illegible] the special correspondent of the "Human- ite" [illegible] account, on April 12th and 13th, of a [illegible] of the Independent Party Federation of Ber- lin-Brandenburg, at which Crispien and **Daeumig,** the party leaders, reported on the activity of the Execu- tive Committee during the recent events. Crispien stated that **the Party had organised the election** of Revolutionary Works Councils, **hoping in this way** to counteract the recent law **setting up "tame"** councils. The E.C. had been unanimous on the question of call- ing off the general strike, as the **Trade Unions** had [illegible] the resumption of labour. **Division was** the thing most to be feared: besides, by their own action the Trade Unions were gaining respect for non-par- liamentary organisations—which, **under the guidance** of the Independents, might cause the **collapse** of our parliamentary democracy. As for a **Workers'** Gov- ernment, the Party had not refused **a coalition** with the Majority Socialists, providing it held **a majority** of the seats itself; but the **Majority Socialists** had taken no steps towards this. **The Party** watchword was: Widest possible fraternity to **Right** and Left, but preservation of principles.

Daeumig stated that the joint **Trade Union** and Socialist statement of the 23rd ult. **represented a** mini- mum for the I.S.P., and, by **signing it, the** latter had once more lost the **Majority Socialists** the influ- ence it won for a short time **during the strike.** Hence- forth he would oppose collaboration, if the minimum conditions were not fulfilled. The election of **R**evolu- tionary Works Councils had been **made, again**[illegible] [illegible] Legion and even of **many Independents.** [illegible] Socialist Government **could not rely solely** [illegible] Works Councils **stood in their program** [illegible] they must be brought down to **real life. Pressure** [illegible] Government **would come better from** below [illegible] the administration of the Party. The [illegible] working class, **Daeumig stated, would** have [illegible] crime against **the Berlin proletariat,** because [illegible] would have led **to a repetition of the Parisian** June massacres of **1848,** and **concluded by saying** that [illegible] view a **Workers'** i.e., **Socialist Government** might have been a preface to **a Soviet dictatorship.**

Election Address of German Independents.

"Freiheit" has published **the election address** of the German Independent **Socialist Party and from** [illegible] it is quite evident that **the Left wing of the** party has decidedly got **the upper hand. Thus** the address says amongst other things: . . . **The party** aims at the capture of political **power by the proletariat** for the purpose of overthrowing **capitalism and** for the realisation of a **Socialist order of society.** This aim can only be attained **by the predominance** of the working class, by the **dictatorship of the proletariat.** The working people, the **bearer of the nation's** economy, the creator of **social wealth, the advancer** of culture, must also be **the bearers of all State and** [illegible] constitutions, **and of the political authority.** T[illegible] meaning of the **Soviet system through** which can be realised **the self-government and indep**[illegible] of the working **people in industry, commune** [illegible] the State. **The dictatorship of the proletariat** is [illegible] political expression for **the assumption of** political expression for **the assumption of political** pow-

The Collapse of the Second International.

By Nicolai Lenin.

Translated by A. SIRNIS,

for the Socialist Labour Press, Glasgow, from whose publication we print.

(Continued from Last Week.)

CHAPTER VII.

Kautsky Slanders Revolutionary Socialists and Whitewashes Opportunists.

The preceding pages were already written when No. 9 of the "Neue Zeit," of May 28th, appeared with the concluding portion of Kautsky's argument on "The Collapse of Social Democracy" paragraph 7 of his reply to Cunow). Kautsky briefly formulates all his old sophisms as well as a fresh one in defence of Socialist Chauvinism as follows:

"It is untrue that the war is a purely Imperialist war, that at the commencement of the war the choice lay between Imperialism and Socialism, or that the Socialist Parties and the proletarian masses of Germany, France and in many respects even of England, threw themselves headlong into the arms of imperialism at the mere beck and call of a handful of Parliamentarians, thus betraying Socialism and bringing about a collapse unparalleled in history."

The new sophism and fraud perpetrated upon the workers consists in this, that the war, you see, is not a "purely" imperialist war!

On the question of the character and meaning of the present war Kautsky wavers terribly, while he circumvents the precise declarations of the Basle and Chemnitz conferences as carefully as does a thief the spot where hs last theft was committed. In the pamphlet, "The National State," written in February, 1915, Kautsky asserted that "in the last degree the war is an imperialist one" (p. 64). Now a fresh reservation is being made to the effect that it is not a purely imperialist war. What sort of war is it, then?

It is, it appears, also a national war! Kautsky has talked and argued until he has actually put forward the foollowing defence, and in doing so, makes use of Plekhanov's dialectics:

"The present war is not only an off-shoot of imperialism, but also of the Russian Revolution." As early as 1904 Kautsky foresaw that the Russian Revolution would resurrect Pan-Slavism in a new form, and that "a democratic Russia must needs powerfully influence the efforts of the Austrian and Turkish Slavs after the attainment of their national independence. In such a case the Polish question would also become acute. Austria is bound to collapse, for with the downfall of Tsarism the iron hoop which now binds together diverse and hostile Nationalist elements, will break." (This last quotation is now quoted by Katusky himself from his article written in 1904). . . . "The Russian Revolution . . . has given a mighty impetus to the Nationalist aspirations of the East, and has added Asiatic problems to those of Europe. All these problems rendered more acute by the present war, loudly clamor for solution and exert a tremendous influence over the minds of the masses, including the proletarian masses, whilst the ruling classes are chiefly possessed of Imperialist aspirations." (Page 273; the black type is ours).

Here we have another instance of the prostitution of Marxism! Because of the fact that "democratic Russia" would kindle a desire in the nations of Eastern Europe to strive after freedom (which fact is indisputable), therefore, the present war, which frees no nation, but, whatever its outcome, will enslave many, is not a "purely" imperialist struggle. Because the "collapse of Tsarism" would mean the downfall of Austria, due to its undemocratic national structure, therefore counter-revolutionary Tsarism (which has temporarily gathered strength, is plundering Austria and has in store still greater oppression for the people of Austria), has taken away from the "present war" its purely imperialist character, and has given it, to a certain extent, a national one. Because the ruling classes deceive dull-witted men of the lower middle class and down-trodden peasants by means of tales concerning nationalist aims of the imperialist war, therefore a man of science, an authorty on "Marxism," a representative of the Second International, has the right to reconcile the masses with this deception by means of the "formula" that the ruling classes are possessed of imperialist aspirations while the "common people" and the proletarian masses are possessed of "nationalist" ones.

Here we see dialectics turned into sophistry of the meanest and basest kind!

The national element in the present war is represented only by the struggle of Serbia against Austria, a fact which was noted, by the way, in the resolution of our party's conference at Berne. Only in Serbia and amongst the Serbs have we a national liberation movement of many years' standing, and one which embraces millions of the masses. The war between Serbia and Austria is a "continuation" of this movement. Had this been an isolated phase of the war, having no connection with the general European war, i.e., with the covetous and plundering aims of England, Russia, etc., all Socialists would have been bound to wish success to the Serbian bourgeoisie; this would have been a naturally correct and absolutely necessary inference to draw from the nationalist phase in the present war. But Kautsky, the sophist, who is at present in the service of the Austrian bourgeois, clerics and generals, fails to draw this inference!

More than that. Marx's dialectics, the last word as regards the scientific evolutionary method, forbids an isolated, that is to say, a one-sided and distorted examination of a subject. The national phase in the Austro-Serbian war has and can have no serious significance as compared with the general aspect of the European war. If Germany is victorious she will strangle Belgium, a portion of Poland, and perhaps a portion of France, etc. If Russia is victorious she will strangle Galacia, also a portion of Poland and Armenia, etc. If the war ends in a draw the former oppression of nationalities will remain in force. To Serbia, which constitutes about one-hundredth of the participants in the present war, the war represents a "continuation of the policy" of a bourgeois liberation movement. But for the other 99 per cent. of the participants, the war represents a continuation of the imperialist policy; that is to say, the struggle of the decrepit bourgeoisie capable of depraving, not liberating, nations. The Triple Eentente, in "freeing" Serbia, sold the interests of Serbian freedom to Italian imperialism for its help in plundering Austria.

Although these facts are known to everyone, Kautsky distorts them shamelessly so as to whitewash the opportunists. "Pure" phenomen cannot, and do not, exist either in nature or in society. This is precisely what Marx's dialectics teach whilst showing us that the very conception of purity implies that human investigation has been applied in a narrow, one-sided manner, and not with the object of thoroughly examining a given subject in all its complexity. "Pure" capitalism does not and cannot exist in this world; it always contains an admixture of feudal, lower middle class and other elements. Hence, to say that the war is not a "purely" imperialist war—when it is a question of the masses being flagrantly deceived by the imperialists who purposely screen the objects of their naked robbery by "nationalist" phraseology—proves that one is either hopelessly dull and pedantic or a trickster.

The whole matter lies in that Kautsky supports the fraud which the imperialists penetrate upon the common people in saying that "for the masses, including the proletarian masses," national problems "were the decisive factor," and for the ruling classes "imperialist tendencies" were the factor (p. 273). Kautsky upholds this fraud when he pretends to "confirm" his statement by a dialectical reference to "infinitely varied reality" (p. 274). Reality is no doubt infinitely varied; this is a sacred truth! But just as certain is it that in this infinite variety there manifest themselves two principal and basic currents: (1) that the objective contents of the war are a "continuation of the policy" of imperialism, that is to say, of the plunder of other nations by the decrepid bourgeoisie of the "Great Powers" (and their governments); and (2) that the prevailing subjective ideology consists of "nationalist" phrases scattered broadcast to stupefy the masses.

We have already examined Kautsky's old sophism, repeated afresh, alleging that those of the "Left" had made out that "when the war broke loose" the choice lay between the "imperialism and socialism." This is a shameless exaggeration, for Kautsky knows well that the men of the Left had put forward a different alternative: that the party should either join in the imperialist plunder and deception or preach, and prepare for revolutonary action. Kautsky also knows that only the German censorship prevents the men of the Left from exposing this idle tale which he spreads in order to pander to the Suedekums.

As regards the relation between the "proletarian masses" and the "handful of parliamentarians," Kautsky here puts forward one of the most hackneyed objections:

"Let me leave the Germans aside, that we may not be defending ourselves. But who would assert in all seriousness that in one day men such as Vaillant and Guesde, Hyndman and Plekhanov had become imperialists and betrayed Socialism? Let us leave aside the parliamentarians and the committees which direct the activity of the Party* . . . But who will dare to assert that it sufficed for a handful of parliamentarians to give an order to four million class conscious German proletarians for them to veer right round within 24 hours and go against their former aims? If this were true, it would prove, of course, that not our Party alone, but also the masses, had collapsed. (The black is Kautsky's.) If the masses were indeed such a vacillating flock of sheep our time would have come to die and be buried" (p. 274).

Karl Kautsky, the former political and scientific authority, has buried himself by his conduct in seeking to employ such pitiable subterfuges. He who does not understand this is hopeless as regards Socialism. It is for this very reason that Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg and their adherents refer in the "Internazionale" to Kautsky and Co. as most despicable fellows; and this is the only correct tone to adopt.

Only think of it! It was but a "handful of parliamentarians,"* of officials, journalists, and so on, who were in a position to speak with a certain amount of freedom of their attitude towards the war. That is to say, to speak without making themselves liable to being seized on the spot and marched off to the barracks, or without running the danger of being shot forthwith. Kautsky now ignominiously blames the masses for the treason and fickleness of this social stratum! Kautsky himself had written dozens of times, in the course of years, to show that the tactics and ideology of his stratum were connected with opportunism. The first and fundamental rule of scientific investigation in general, and of Marx's dialectics in particular, is that the writer should examine the connection between the present struggle of the currents within Socialism (the struggle between the current which speaks of treason, indeed shouts it from the house top, and the one which perceives no treasen) and the struggle which, prior to this, had been going on for whole decades. Kautsky does not even hint at this nor does he desire to put the question of tendencie and currents. Hitherto there existed currents, but now they are no more. Now there exists only the dictatorship of "authorities," which are always used by servile people as trump-cards. And these authorities and it very convenient to quote each other and to cover up each other's "sins" in friendly fashion on the principle of one dirty hand washing the other.*

The cookoo praises the cock because the cock praises the cookoo!

In his servile ardour Kautsky even goes so far as to kiss the hem of Hyndman's garment, making out that the latter but yesterday went over to the side of imperialism. Yet, for many years articles have appeared in the same "Neue Zeit" and in dozens of S.D. papers of the whole world which told of Hyndman's imperialism!* Had Kautsky been sincerely interested in the political biographies of the men he names, he would have had to recall whether or not these biographies contained traits and events which, not "in one day," but in the course of a decade prepared such a transition to imperialism. He would have recalled whether or not Vaillant had been captured by the adherants of Jaures, and Plekhanov by the Minimalists and the revisionists. He would have recalled whether or not Guesde's revolutionary current died before the eyes of everyone in the Guesdist paper, "Socialism"—a model of lifelessness and incapacity, a paper which could take up no independent line on any important question. Kautsky would have recalled whether or not he himself had manifested indecision (let us add—for those who place him, and rightly so, side by side with Hyndman and Plekhanov) on the question of Millerandism, at the beginning of the struggle with Bernstein, and so forth.

But we do not see even the least attempt made to investigate, scientifically, the biographies of the leaders mentioned. No attempt is even made to examine whether these leaders defend themselves by their own arguments or by repeating the arguments of the opportunists and capitalist class, or whether, for example the actions of the leaders acquired a serious political significance in consequence of their being especially influential, or in consequence of the fact that they joined a foreign and really "influential" current supported by the military organisation, namely, the bourgeois current. Kautsky makes no attempt to investigate the question; he is merely concerned with throw-

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er by the working class, it is a transition stage in the transformation of capitalist society into Socialist society in which Socialist democracy will be realised."

Amongst the immediate minimum demands the address puts forward: Peace with Russia; the socialisation of land, coal, and mineral mines, the production of electricity, gas, water power, means of transport, and other highly developed industries. The disarming and disbanding of all counter-revolutionary formations, complete amnesty for all imprisoned revolutionary fighters and leaders. War against profiteers, and so forth.

If only the acts of the Independents would come up to the spirit of this address, there would be much to hope from the Independents, after all. In any case, whatever the leaders may be, the rank and file is evidently determined to pursue a forward revolutionary policy.

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*Kautsky is here hinting, obviously, at the "Internazionale," the paper conducted by Rosa Luxemburg and F. Mehring, where they shower well-deserved contempt upon the policy of the Executive Committee of the German S. D. Party, its parliamentary fraction, etc., that is to say, the official bodies which direct the party policy.

*They voted of their own accord and had a perfect right to vote for the credits—but they could also have voted against them; even in Russia men were not flogged or ill-treated for this.

*How can this be opportunism?" exclaimed L. Martov when giving a paper at Berne (vide the "Social-Democrat," No. 36), "when . . . Guesde, Plekanov, Kautsky, etc!" "We must be more careful when we accuse of opportunism such men as Guesde," wrote Axelrod (the "Golos," Nos. 86 and 87).

"I am not going to defend myself." Kautsky in Berlin seconds them, "but . . . Vaillant and Guesde, Hyndman, and Plekhanov!"

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[illegible] and with deafening [illegible] and with [illegible] and thoroughly [illegible]

[illegible] of four millions, [illegible] of a hand-[illegible]

[illegible] There [illegible] of the Ger[illegible] wall of this [illegible] was ex[illegible] by the [illegible] This handful [illegible] it was in a pos[illegible] No one. [illegible] Not only were [illegible] they were rent asunder [illegible] of a handful of [illegible] of the military [illegible] was in exis[illegible] called upon the masses [illegible] them [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] speaking, [illegible] cannot speak of [illegible] the military censor[illegible] opportunists at all costs [illegible] while [illegible] the back of the military [illegible] those of the Left. [illegible] see to it that he is not exposed.

*Kautsky's [illegible] Hyndman and Plekhanov is characteristic [illegible] from another point of view Frank [illegible] Lensch and Haenisch not to mention the opportunists [illegible] Hyndman and Plekhanov in order to justify their own policy. They have a perfect right to refer to them, and they speak the truth in this respect that it is, indeed, one and the same policy. But Kautsky speaks with contempt of Lensch and Haenisch, these radical Socialists who have gone over to imperialism. Kautsky [illegible]

COMMUNISM SIDETRACKED.

WORKERS' CONTROL IN INDUSTY.

Continued from front page

into Australia and to reprint it.

The object of writing and publishing pamphlets is to make accessible in an easily understood form the latest results of scientific investigation to the general public: so far as the working-class is concerned, pamphlets should have in view the spread of knowledge amongst the workers of all grades an understanding of their position in the world, and the part they are destined to play as shown by history. The attitude therefore, of our Guild Socialists in "mistructing" the Proletarian Dictatorship is mere child's talk. Nothing is entirely good or bad, and if the road to freedom runs over rough ground, it is our duty to learn and know the lay of the land, and to go forth prepared to meet wild beasts, and not to reject that particular path because it is dangerous and we are distrustful.

The conclusions arrived at in the pamphlet are, of course, distinctly in favour of the workers sharing in control of industry, and to the extent that it presents at best a part true analysis of the capitalist system, it must be rejected as tending to confuse, rather than clarify the minds of the workers on all questions both of activity under capitalism and under a communist social order. The facts of society are, after all, few and not over difficult in the understanding, and their rejection on moral or other allied grounds cannot be countenanced.

The conclusions of Marxism must be stated again and again. The conflicts existing in present-day society can only be solved "by the practical recognition of the social nature of the modern forces of production, and therefore in harmonising the modes of production, appropriation, and exchange with the socialised character of the means of production. And this can only come about by society openly and directly taking possession of the productive forces which have outgrown all control except that of society as a whole." (Engels). This constitutes the proletarian revolution, and, as Engels further writes, this act is the "historical mission of the modern proletariat. To thoroughly comprehend the historical conditions and thus the very nature of this act, to impart to the now oppressed proletarian class a full knowledge of the conditions and of the meaning of the momentous act it is called upon to accomplish, this is the task of the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement, scientific socialism." And we may add that propaganda that does not keep this clearly in view is worse than useless. Let the message ever be the Proletarian Revolution, our Dictatorship, and Communism!—A.T.B.

LOOKING BACKWARD

By Edward Bellamy.

One of the earliest novels of the Labor movement and still popular. Paper 1/6, posted 1/8; cloth 3/6, posted 3/9.

[illegible] thanks God that he is not like these publicans, and that he disagrees with them and refuses a revolutionary. The last is not meant as a joke. But in reality, Kautsky's position is the same. Blindly, the Reformist Chauvinist, with his goody-goody phrases, is much loathsome than such simple-minded Chauvinists as David and Heine, Lensch and Haenisch. "Amongst other things, it was not at all necessary to close down all the S.D. papers in reply to the prohibition to write upon class hatred and the class struggle. It was a base and pusillanimous thing to consent to the condition that they should abstain from urging such, as in the case of "Vorwaerts." "Vorwaerts" died a "political" death when it did this. L. Martov was quite right when he pointed this out. Some legal papers could have been preserved by making a declaration to the effect that they were not party or S.D. papers, but merely papers which were ministering to the technical needs of a section of the workers, that is to say, that their [illegible] could there not have existed illegal S.D. Secretary throughout the war, as well as legal literature supplying such [illegible] legal literature which would have contrived to speak the truth yet refrained from attacking Hindenburg.

(Continued next week).

Australian Socialist Party

NEWS AND NOTES

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE.

C. E. delegates are reminded that the next meeting will be held on Thursday, **July 15th.** All delegates are requested to attend.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

Com. Baracchi delivered his final lecture on Wed., June 30, and a large interested audience listened to his remarks on the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

The whole series of our Comrade's lectures have been entirely successful, and have served to prove to us how members of the working class no longer merely attend lectures to be amused or to pass away an evening, but are developing a real desire for educational propaganda.

This was also noticeable in questions and discussions which were both animated, but showed a desire for a further enlightenment on some particular point mentioned rather than adverse opinions.

In fact, there was very little dissentient criticism of any kind during the whole series.

At the conclusion of Comrade Baracchi's last address, the audience carried a vote of thanks with hearty acclamation in appreciation of his work and trouble on their behalf in which it is hardly necessary to say that the Branch cordially joins.

The lectures will be written up for publication in the I.S. by Com. Baracchi himself, who offered to do so on his return to Melbourne; an offer which was naturally accepted with alacrity.

On July 4, Com. A. Wilson, organiser of the W.I.I.U., occupied the platform in the Hall, choosing for his subject, "The Foundations of Society." The speaker took his audience back to prehistoric times, and the days of primitive communism, and traced society from its foundations, showing its development to the existing state of affairs to-day.

The lecture was of good educational value; the speaker quoted profusely from "Ancient History", Engels' "Origin of The Family," and other works during his address, and was heartily applauded at its close.

Domain meetings and literature sales are still continuing exceptionally good. The Secretary of the Committee in charge of the Sunday School, desires to thank those who have contributed to the fund set on foot to provide a Lantern and books for its use, and urges all sympathisers to forward on any donations they can spare for that purpose. All matter relating to Sunday School to be addressed to: A. Clifton, A.S.P. Hall, Empire House, Liverpool Street, Sydney.

MARCIA REARDON, Asst. Sec.

SUBSRIBERS TO THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD," ENGLAND.

We have received the following letter from Com. Baritz, with the request that it be published:—

S.S. Carina.

Dear Comrade,

Will you please publish the fact that I have not yet received an acknowledgment of the money I sent to the S.P. of G.B. last November. I ask all those who paid subscriptions for the 'Socialist Standard" to me to send their address to H. W. Merison, sec. S.P. of G.B., 17 Mount Pleasant, London, W.C., England. As soon as he is notified the Socialist Party will honor their request and send the paper for 12 months.

As the subs were taken at the Labor College, I hope this will be sufficient notification.

MOSES BARTZ.

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